1: Brand E-4 (no date)[1941] DO4 Araucanians DO4

which provided for the placing of the Indians on reservations, allotted to title to the chiefs representing the various family groups) led to the revolt of 1868-70. This culminated with the reduction of much of Araucanía, and the founding of a line of forts west of the Bío-Bío along the Río Malleco. However, during the War of the Pacific (1879-83) Chile moved most of her garrison troops north into Bolivia and Chile, and the Araucanians experienced their final revolt. The administration of Lines in 1881 released experienced and equipped soldiers who (1881-83) completely conquered Araucanía. The Araucanian capacity for resistance was definitely crushed by the Antora epidemic of 1888-97. A string of towns, such as Victoria and Traiguén, 1881, were established along the north-south road between Angol and Puerto Montt; new laws were set up regarding the Araucanians and their lands in 1883; and the Frontera was incorporated in the national domain by the organization of the provinces of Malleco and Cautín in 1887. This ended the epic resistance of the Araucanians against Spanish and Chilean aggression that had lasted more than 300 years. During this period the wars were and interventions were too in number: War of Arauco conquest, 1598-1603, Villa Rica, 1723, 1766, 1819-1825, 1858, 1868, 1868-1870, and 1879-1884.

Population

Now, thanks to [illegible] smallpox, typhus, malaria, measles, cholera, etc.), alcoholism, and war, the Araucanians were at their nadir. In the succeeding years the land situation became more stabilized, a subsistence and barter economy (based upon livestock, cereals, potatoes, fruits, lumber, textiles, silverwork, etc.) functioned, schools, new missions, hospitals, and improved lines of communication and transportation were established, and the Araucanian population began to increase.

The number of Araucanians living on various periods during the past 80 years has been a matter more of guessing than of counting. National censuses have been taken in Chile in 1885, 1895, 1907, 1920, 1930, 1935, 1940, 1952, and the last one in November of 1960. These censuses have been of varying reliability, but none made any real attempt to enumerate the Araucanians prior to that of 1885. Most of the estimates place the number of Araucanians in 1880 between 80,000 and 90,000. These were obviously wrong since the census of 1907 listed 101,000 and that of 1930 gave a total of 105,000 Araucanians. In the writings of both Chilean and foreigners during the past 80 years one most frequently encounters a statement such as "somewhat more than 100,000." The statements actually range from 40,000 (Pericot y García: América Indígena, 1956, p. 680) to 130,000 (Cochran: Geography of Latin America, 1956, p. 121). Although the details of the 1960 census have not been published as yet, the writer was informed that the government recognized the existence of some 197,000 Araucanians. However, this number reflects upon the validity of the

6 Lanciano F 6 (1888-1891) 1909 BC4 Arapaesiana BC4

and placed on a bier covered with branches of cedar and laurel. The bier is borne to the burial ground on the shoulders of four of the nearest male relations. When the procession leaves the house the whole assembly utter shouts and lamentations, which are kept up till the funeral is over. 764

The graves are dug to the depth of about 4 feet, and are generally square in form.

The presents brought by the mourners are buried with the corpse, together with supplies of food, clothing and arms, to provide for his long journey. A sheep is sacrificed over the grave, and sometimes a horse, or the latter is buried with the corpse if the distance to the coast is considerable. With this sacrifice, the burial proper concludes, but the vigils and feasting continues till the provisions provided are entirely consumed, and sometimes last for several days.

Ceremonies.—The following account is abridged from notes taken on the spot during my stay among these Indians in 1888, when I was fortunate enough to be a personal witness of some of their principal ceremonies. 754 787

Cologan (three lives or powers), head chief or spokesman of the allies of the upper Cauda, had died suddenly, probably of apoplexy, during a feast in a neighbouring village. This manner of death, so uncommon among the Indians, there being no visible cause to explain it, was immediately set down to witchcraft. The corpse was brought home, attended by the whole population of the tribe where the death had taken place. [169]

The medicine man, who was sent for, and a sorcerer were versed by all chiefs of the neighbouring villages to consult with their corps, or braves. The medicine arrived a little before nightfall. He was dressed after the fashion of the country, and had a grass skin hung round his loins and dragging behind him on the ground. In his right hand he carried a wand about 18 inches in length, covered with snake's skin and garnished with human teeth. Two assistants accompanied him carrying the instruments of his profession.

In front a fire of green cedar wood was lighted before the door of the room entered which more than a hundred persons gathered. From the fire arose a thick pungent smoke, which completely shrouded the entrance of the hut.

The medicine took the wand in front of the fire, with arms extended, face upturned, and eyes unblinking for more than half an hour, inhaling without flinching the density of suffocating smoke that enveloped him, and seemingly lost to everything around him.

Suddenly he recovered consciousness and rushed into the hut where the body was laid out on a bed of skins. What he did there no one could tell, but after a short while he reappeared, showing signs of mental and bodily exhaustion.

The corpse was now brought out and laid on a mats near the fire. One of the assistants proceeded to strip it of its garments, after which he made an incision in the skin a little above the hip, placing two sticks in the lips of the wound to hold them open. By this operation the liver was disclosed. The gall bladder was taken out, slit open, and the contents received in a small copper-like

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

early period reduced greatly. Mariño de Lovera remarked (1865, p. 448) that after 50 years of warfare, where formerly the Indians had been counted in thousands, they were then (circa 1594) to be reckoned in fifties. Hard labor under the encomienda system in the fields and mines and towns also took its toll as did likewise, it would seem, disease (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 200) and social disorganization.

The Chilotans, who at first contact are estimated to have exceeded 50,000, had a little over two centuries later dwindled to 11,000 (Olivares, 1864, p. 61; 1874, p. 365); great numbers of them were in the early 17th century captured, taken away, and sold as slaves.

Estimates of present-day *Araucanian* numbers will depend a good deal upon what we understand by "*Araucanians*." The Chilean census of 1907 listed 101,118, that of 1920, 105,162, all between the Bío-Bío River and the Canal of Chacao. Brand (1941 a, p. 23) was informed that the Chilean Government recognized the existence of some 187,000 *Araucanians*. He was also told by an *Araucanian* leader, Martín Collió Huaiquillaf, that a population of 300,000 was claimed in 1941. "If we count as 'Indian' anyone who physically seems to be Indian, and all who linguistically or socially are considered Indian, then the estimate of 300,000 *Araucanians* probably is not too high" (Brand, 1941 a, p. 24; cf. 1941 c, p. 82). This estimate, and Brand's estimate of 200,000 Indians speaking *Araucanian* dialects, appear to be our best ones.

The *Araucanian*-speaking Indians in Argentine territory are variously estimated to number from a few hundred to 3,000 or 4,000 (Brand, 1941 a, p. 24). In Mansilla's time, 1870, the *Ranquel* alone were estimated by him to number 8,000 to 10,000 (1877, 2:274). Fasulo, in 1925, estimated the total Indian population of the Pampa and Patagonia, including the *Araucanian* elements, at about 7,000 (1925, p. 161).

From the middle to the end of the last century great reductions in the native population from the Bío-Bío River to the Canal of Chacao took place as a result of wars and feuds, of smallpox and cholera epidemics, and, apparently, of alcoholism. Since the beginning of the present century, however, the *Araucanian* population of Chile appears to have been steadily increasing.

LANGUAGE

Araucanian is an independent linguistic family. Each region and tribal subdivision has its dialectic differences, but these are mostly relatively minor ones, consisting of phonetic shifts (such as, e. g., *r*—*s*—*d*, *n*—*ñ*, *t*—*tr*—*ch*), different meanings for the same word, different words for same meaning, slight differences in formation of plural of substantives, etc. The dialects are mutually intelligible, but in some cases only with considerable or very great difficulty

7:Padden H-4 (no date) 1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

of peace in war council, could be cut down on the spot by the nearest soldier. Apparently it was quite common for the warriors to kill any Indian who spoke of peace, or who was suspected of having the word in his mouth. Nájera describes a rigorous "inquisition" by the warriors to suppress the minority who wanted to farm rather than fight. Christianity was also forbidden. In the course of time many Indians were introduced to its tenets through close contact with the Spanish, especially the Indians who lived around the Spanish settlements. After the disaster of 1598, of course, the towns were no more. Many of the Indians had become reconciled to Spanish occupation and were genuinely converted to Christianity. Now they were exposed to the mercy of the estado's inquisitors. From what we know, it did not go well with them.[49] Standing in opposition to Christianity was an apparently well-defined Araucanian concept, to wit: the Indian way of life is the only one; those who die in war against the Spanish go to another land where they enjoy more women and luxuries than they ever had in this life; there is nothing to fear in death.[50]

Araucanian opposition to Spanish intrusion was not confined to the field of battle. At all times they waged psychological warfare with consummate skill. While they always celebrated a victory over the Spaniards, and let the settlers know of their celebration, they never disclosed the identity of the fort or community that had fallen.[51] With great finesse they obstructed Spanish intelligence, keeping the enemy in a state of worried ignorance. It is relatively certain that human flesh was not eaten by the Araucanians in pre-Hispanic times except in times of dire necessity.[52] With the advent of the Spanish invasion, however, the eating of Spaniards became institutionalized. Time and time again the chroniclers tell of Spaniards being eaten, in whole and in part, and sometimes, their horses with them. Since there does not appear to have been a tradition to support this practice, nor any magical or superstitious belief connected with the act, it seems reasonable to assume that it was developed for its propaganda value. This would represent an intended clash of values. Discovering the abhorrence with which the Christians viewed cannibalism, the Araucanians appear to have developed it as a cultural opposite, a symbol of resistance. The great chief of Arauco, Caupolican, in hurling a challenge at Governor García Hurtado de Mendoza, boasted that

49 *Ibid.*, pp. 100, 119, 60, 163, 70; "Tratado de la importancia y utilidad que ay en dar por esclavos a los indios rebelados de Chile," 1599 (José Toribio Medina, *Biblioteca hispano-chilena, 1523-1817*, 3 vols., Santiago, 1897-99), vol. 2, p. 13.

50 Ovalle, p. 40.

51 Nájera, pp. 75-76, 98, 100.

52 See Cooper, p. 732 and José Toribio Medina, *Los aborígenes de Chile* (Santiago, 1952), pp. 220-221. Marmolejo (p. 57) states that in the spring of 1556 the Indians were visited by a terrible plague (called *chavalongo*). In the aftermath of famine the Indians turned to cannibalism as a means of survival.

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755 a mixture of psychology, superstition, and the administration of herbal or other health restoratives. Quoting a non-Araucanian herbalist: "Of all their restoratives to health, the Mapuche have the greatest confidence in the machitun; I do not believe that it will ever be rooted out of their beliefs."

The machitun is performed over sick men and women, when indicated; more rarely over children. Several schoolchildren had had [64] one performed over them during an epidemic of measles; some were only 2 years old at the time.

In general, the following are the features of the machitun:

(1) A performance at night with many invited persons present. "The evil spirit of sickness comes at night and must be driven out at night." The place is lit up by burning colihüe stalks held by women.

(2) Use of branches of canelo, a tree for which Araucanians exhibit a feeling of respect. "There is something sacred about the tree." The machi plants branches of canelo above the head of the patient, who is in a supine position, and bowed stalked of quila between the canelo branches; at the feet of the patient, branches of laurel común; and all around the patient, twigs of lingue.

(3) The beating of the kultrun (drum) by the machi.

(4) The shaking of the wada (rattle) by the machi.

755 (5) Use of a stone to which magical power is ascribed. (Generally,
776 however, such stones are used only in witchcraft.) These stones are of two types: a black one, highly polished, called likan and said to have been ejected by volcanoes; and a green beadlike one, called llanka, found occasionally in prehistoric burials along with urns, and said to be decidedly more powerful than the likan. (A dying machi gave Father Sigifredo his llanka, a 4-cornered stone a little smaller than a thumbnail. It had a neatly drilled hole in the center through which a string was passed so that the stone could be suspended from the neck.)

755 (6) The performing machi's particular banner attached to a pole. "As soon as the machi arrives at the ruka where the sick person is, he erects to one side of the ruka and considerably taller than the ruka the pole for his banner. At each side of the pole he plants a young branch of either maqui or palqui."

(7) Songs sung by the machi. Quoting a Panguipulli informant: "I shall sing you the song that is sung by the machi before he begins to chase away the evil spirits with firebrands, from both inside and outside the ruka: 'If you bury yourself under the earth, I shall be able to see you. Or, if you place yourself over the door, I shall see